International Law Discourse in Southeast Asia

Volume 4 Issue 1 (June 2025), pp 129-157
ISSN: 2830-0297 (Print) 2829-9655 (Online)
https://doi.org/10.15294/ildisea.v1i1.22416
Published biannually by the Faculty of Law, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia and managed by Southeast Asian Studies Center, Universitas Negeri Semarang, INDONESIA

Available online since July 7, 2025

Southeast Asian Influence on Public International Law: State Practices and Implications¹

Agit Yogi Subandi

Faculty of Law, Universitas Lampung, Indonesia

Sona Asnawi

Faculty of Law, Universitas Lampung, Indonesia

Isroni Muhammad Miraj Mirza®

Law Faculty, University of Groningen, Netherlands

☑ Corresponding Email: agit.yogi@fh.unila.ac.id

ABSTRACT: Southeast Asia, a region characterized by diverse legal traditions, political systems, and cultural practices, plays an important but often underappreciated role in the development and interpretation of public international law. This article examines the multifaceted influence of Southeast Asian states' practices on international legal norms and frameworks, answering three fundamental research questions: (1) How do state practices in Southeast Asian countries influence the development and interpretation of public international law? (2) What are the implications of Southeast Asian state practices for the application of and compliance with international law in the region? (3) How do Southeast Asian countries' diplomatic strategies and international relations shape their contributions to public international law? By analyzing case studies and specific instances in which Southeast Asian legal norms have influenced international treaties, customary law, and general legal principles, this article highlights Southeast Asia's active participation in the global legal

-

¹ This article was presented at the '2024 International Law and Southeast Asia Conference' held in The Hague on 21-22 November 2024, as part of the author's contribution.

arena. The study highlights the region's potential to shape international legal norms through its unique legal traditions, enforcement practices, and diplomatic strategies. Ultimately, this research aims to advance understanding of Southeast Asia's role in the international legal system and promote greater recognition of its influence in shaping global legal norms.

KEYWORDS: Southeast Asia, customary international law, general legal principles, treaties, legal frameworks.

I. INTRODUCTION

The engagement of Southeast Asian countries with public international law reveals a nuanced balance between national sovereignty and regional cooperation, often influenced by ASEAN's principle of non-interference.² This tension is particularly visible in the region's selective ratification of international treaties and cautious integration of international norms, as states balance national interests with collective regional obligations.³ The discourse reflects how ASEAN's consensus-driven model allows cooperation while respecting sovereignty, limiting the supranational authority found in other regional organizations.⁴ This approach affects Southeast Asia's engagement with public international law, particularly in treaty ratification, compliance, and participation in international forums.⁵ Countries tend to prioritize sovereignty over collective action, leading to partial or delayed implementation of international

² Atip Latipulhayat, "New Face of International Law From Western to Global Construct," *PADJADJARAN Jurnal Ilmu Hukum (Journal of Law)* 07, no. 01 (April 2020): 43–63, https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v7n1.a3.

³ Kilian Spandler et al., "Sovereignty Scripts and Regional Governance: ASEAN's Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic," *The Pacific Review* 37, no. 3 (May 3, 2024): 604–33, https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2023.2205164.

⁴ Gabriel Joel P. Honrada and Svetlana A. Bokeriya, "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism," *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 30, 2023): 253–64, https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2023-23-2-253-264.

⁵ Spandler et al., "Sovereignty Scripts and Regional Governance: ASEAN's Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic."

commitments.⁶ An example of this cautious stance is seen in the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution, which has faced challenges in effectively enforcing commitments among member states.⁷ Moreover, Southeast Asian countries' adherence to capital punishment for drug trafficking contrasts with global abolitionist trends, reflecting a tension between local policies and evolving international human rights norms.⁸ External influences, such as the tobacco industry's lobbying, further complicate governance efforts.⁹ For example, Indonesia has not ratified the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), citing economic concerns and lobbying pressure from the domestic tobacco industry, while in the Philippines, tobacco companies have been documented influencing legislative debates on tobacco control policies.¹⁰ These examples illustrate how external actors can shape domestic policy responses and hinder the integration of international standards.

The legal diversity in Southeast Asia, encompassing customary, religious, and civil law systems, shapes the region's unique engagement with international law. Local traditions play a significant role in legal interpretations, as seen in the Tionghoa Muslim community's inheritance practices in Banjarmasin, where Islamic law

⁶ Honrada and Bokeriya, "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism," June 30, 2023.

⁷ Vinod K. Aggarwal and Jonathan T. Chow, "The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation," *Review of International Political Economy* 17, no. 2 (June 3, 2010): 262–90, https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290903192962.

⁸ Frida Rahmita, "Capital Punishment For Drugs Trafficking In Southeast Asia: A Violation Of Human Rights Law?," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 22, no. 1 (December 30, 2017): 158–69, https://doi.org/10.22452/jati.vol22no1.11.

⁹ Raphael Lencucha et al., "Addressing Tobacco Industry Influence in Tobacco-Growing Countries," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 102, no. 1 (January 1, 2024): 58–64, https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.23.290219.

¹⁰ Putu Ayu Swandewi Astuti, "Policy Incoherence and Unwillingness of the Indonesian Government to Curb Its Alarming Tobacco Epidemic," *Tobacco Control* 32, no. 4 (July 20, 2023): 405–6, https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2023-058114.

integrates with local customs.¹¹ Similarly, the Bugis-Makassar community's Mappasikarawa tradition reflects the interaction between indigenous customs and Islamic philosophy, underscoring a synthesis of local and universal principles in marriage practices.¹² However, political diversity within Southeast Asia, with its varied governance systems, poses challenges for cohesive action in international law. The region's reluctance to delegate sovereignty contributes to its limited participation in global legal frameworks,¹³ complicating the integration of these local customs into broader international norms.

This article seeks to examine how Southeast Asia's legal and cultural practices impact the development and application of public international law, particularly within the context of ASEAN. Key questions include whether the region's legal traditions, political systems, and cultural values are adequately recognized in shaping international legal norms and the extent to which Southeast Asia can integrate international legal norms shaped by Southeast Asian values into its national systems. Additionally, the study will analyze how ASEAN and other regional organizations support Southeast Asia's contributions to international law amidst shifting geopolitical

_

¹¹ Gusti Muzainah and Firqah Annajiyah Mansyuroh, "Integration of Islamic Law and Banjarese Customary Law of Inheritance System Tionghoa Muslim Community in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan," Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam 6, no. 2 (December 31, 2022): 678, https://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah/article/view/12386

Achmad Musyahid Idrus et al., "The Tradition of Mappasikarawa in the Bugis-Makassar Community Marriage: A Study of Islamic Law Philosophy," Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam 7, no. 2 (May 9, 2023): 848, https://jurnal.arraniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah/article/view/17125

¹³ Andreas Paulus, "Realism and International Law: Two Optics in Need of Each Other," (2002): Proceedings of the Asil Annual Meeting 96 269-72, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/proceedings-of-the-asil-annualmeeting/article/abs/realism-and-international-law-two-optics-in-need-of-eachother/DAB61D73F88B2580D0687BF7E04A53A8; Simon Chesterman, "Asia's Ambivalence about International Law and Institutions: Past, Present and Futures," European Journal of (November 29, 2016): 945-78, https://academic.oup.com/ejil/article/27/4/945/2962207.

dynamics. By exploring these issues, the article aims to provide a deeper understanding of Southeast Asia's distinctive role in the governance of international law.

II. METHODS

A. Research Approach

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical method to examine how the practices of Southeast Asian countries influence public international law. This approach is chosen as the research aims to understand and analyze legal phenomena within a broader social, political, and cultural context. To strengthen the analysis, this study adopts a legal pluralism lens, which provides a framework for understanding the interaction between local legal traditions — including customary law, religious law, and national law — and international legal norms. By applying this perspective, the study highlights how multiple legal systems coexist and influence the development and application of public international law in Southeast Asia.

B. Data Source

1. Primary Data

- a) International legal documents, including treaties, conventions, and international court decisions.
- b) National legal documents from Southeast Asian countries, such as constitutions, legislation, and foreign policy regulations.
- c) Interviews with international law experts and diplomatic practitioners from Southeast Asian countries (if feasible).

2. Secondary Data

a) Academic literature, including books, scholarly journals, and research reports related to international law and state practices.

b) Reports from international and regional organizations, such as ASEAN, the UN, and other international legal institutions.

3. Analysis Method

The collected data is analyzed using qualitative methods through the following techniques:

- a) Descriptive Analysis: Examining legal documents and policies of Southeast Asian countries in the context of international law.
- b) Comparative Analysis: Comparing legal practices in different Southeast Asian countries and their impact on the development of international law.
- c) Juridical Analysis: Interpreting research findings within the framework of international law, considering the social, political, and economic factors influencing legal practices in Southeast Asian countries.

III. SOUTHEAST ASIAN LEGAL PRACTICES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

A. Legal Traditions and Their Influence

The legal traditions in Southeast Asia, particularly customary law, have a significant impact on both local governance and international legal norms. In countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, customary practices inform governance, resource management, and community cohesion, particularly in areas such as marine conservation and land rights. For example, Indonesia's management of marine resources in Southeast Maluku relies heavily on customary leaders to allocate resources, demonstrating the

influence of traditional norms.¹⁴ Similarly, the formal recognition of customary agroforest rights in Krui, Sumatra, empowers local communities in sustainable land management, showing the potential of customary law to support conservation and development goals.¹⁵ Many of these customary practices have been formally codified in statutory law or judicially recognized by national courts, thereby enhancing their legal standing and international significance.¹⁶ This integration of customary norms into formal legal systems not only reinforces local identities but also contributes to global customary law by exemplifying practical applications of *opinio juris* and state practice.¹⁷

Islamic law's integration into national systems in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaysia and Brunei, contributes to a complex legal pluralism, influencing international law discussions, especially in the realms of human rights and family law. In Malaysia, Islamic law operates within a constitutional framework that prioritizes human rights, though this dual legal structure sometimes results in inconsistencies, ¹⁸ such as contradictions between Islamic family law rulings — particularly on issues like child custody, inheritance, and

Dirk J. Steenbergen, "Strategic Customary Village Leadership in the Context of Marine Conservation and Development in Southeast Maluku, Indonesia," *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (June 6, 2016): 311–27, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9829-6.

Koen Kusters et al., "Towards Solutions for State vs. Local Community Conflicts Over Forestland: The Impact of Formal Recognition of User Rights in Krui, Sumatra, Indonesia," Human Ecology 35, no. 4 (August 14, 2007): 427–38, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-006-9103-4.

Nindya Tria Puspita, Rommy Qurniati, and Indra Gumay Febryano, "Social Capital of Community Forest Management in Batutegi Forest Management Unit," *Jurnal Sylva Lestari* 8, no. 1 (January 27, 2020): 54, https://doi.org/10.23960/jsl1854-64.

¹⁷ Zainal Kling, "The Malay Family: Beliefs and Realities," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 1995): 43–66, https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.26.1.43.

¹⁸ Farid Sufian Shuaib, "Administration of Islamic Law and Human Rights: The Basis and Its Trajectory in Malaysia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, no. 2 (May 16, 2019): 281–304, https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.562.281-304.

gender equality — and constitutional human rights protections.¹⁹ The coexistence of religious and secular legal principles in areas like public health demonstrates the adaptability of Islamic law within international governance frameworks. For instance, Islamic principles have shaped HIV prevention policies in Malaysia, showing the influence of religious law on public health.²⁰ This dynamic legal pluralism illustrates how Islamic law can enhance international human rights discourse by promoting legal diversity and advocating for the coexistence of religious and secular values.²¹

The colonial legacy in Southeast Asia continues to shape national legal systems, particularly through retained elements of Dutch civil law and English common law, as seen in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.²² These inherited systems have not only influenced domestic legal development but have also facilitated regional participation in international law by aligning local practices with global norms, especially in trade, investment, and human rights.²³ For example, the English common law tradition in Singapore and Malaysia has supported the harmonization of domestic commercial and regulatory laws with international standards, enabling smoother compliance with World Trade Organization (WTO) rules and

_

Nik Hazimah Nik Mat et al., "Religiosity and Gender Role Perceptions: Insights from Malaysia," Contemporary Islam 17, no. 1 (April 8, 2023): 1–25, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-022-00502-9.

²⁰ Sima Barmania and Syed Mohamed Aljunid, "Navigating HIV Prevention Policy and Islam in Malaysia: Contention, Compatibility or Reconciliation? Findings from in-Depth Interviews among Key Stakeholders," BMC Public Health 16, no. 1 (December 7, 2016): 524, https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3247-y.

²¹ Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, Issa Khan, and Mohammad Elius, "Analysing the Conceptual Framework of Religious Freedom and Interreligious Relationship in Islam," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (December 2, 2018): 309, https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.309-334.

²² Latipulhayat, "New Face of International Law From Western to Global Construct."

²³ Maryam Kanna, "Furthering Decolonization: Judicial Review Of Colonial Criminal Laws," *Duke Law Journal* 70, no. 2 (2020).

international arbitration frameworks.²⁴ In contrast, countries like Vietnam and Laos, which follow socialist legal traditions, place greater emphasis on state sovereignty and public order, influencing their selective engagement with international norms.²⁵ The persistence of practices such as capital punishment in drug trafficking cases reflects ongoing tensions between national legal priorities and evolving global human rights standards.²⁶ Additionally, regional trade agreements, such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), have increasingly incorporated anti-corruption measures and transparency obligations, showcasing how international economic law is reshaping local governance and regulatory frameworks across the region.²⁷

Finally, Southeast Asia's approach to dispute resolution, exemplified by ASEAN's non-intervention principle, has contributed a distinctive model of regional cooperation to international law. The "ASEAN Way," emphasizing consensus and deliberation, reflects a commitment to stability and respect for sovereignty. However, ASEAN's institutional response to regional crises, such as Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar, illustrates a gradual normative shift toward a doctrine of non-indifference.²⁸ This shift is reflected in the establishment of mechanisms such as the ASEAN Coordinating

_

²⁴ Crina Baltag, Riddhi Joshi, and Kabir Duggal, "Recent Trends in Investment Arbitration on the Right to Regulate, Environment, Health and Corporate Social Responsibility: Too Much or Too Little?," ICSID Review - Foreign Investment Law Journal 38, no. 2 (September 23, 2023): 381–421, https://doi.org/10.1093/icsidreview/siac031.

John Gillespie, "Theorizing Continuity and Change in Socialist Regulation," Law & Policy 45, no. 2 (April 3, 2023): 211–33, https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12212.

Rahmita, "Capital Punishment For Drugs Trafficking In Southeast Asia: A Violation Of Human Rights Law?"

²⁷ Chutao Zhang, "A Cynical Theory and Wicked Men: The Origins of Classical Realism's Pessimism and Cynicism," 2023, 448–54, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-97-8_56.

Julio Santiag Amador, "Community Building at the Time of Nargis: The ASEAN Response," Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 28, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 3–22, https://doi.org/10.1177/186810340902800401.

Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre), which enables coordinated regional responses to humanitarian emergencies.²⁹ While the principle of non-intervention remains foundational, these developments indicate a softening of rigid sovereignty norms in favor of a more proactive and cooperative regional role.³⁰ The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and involvement in trade negotiations like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) further illustrate ASEAN's role in aligning regional values with global norms, particularly in areas like human rights and public health. These developments underscore Southeast Asia's unique contribution to international law, blending regional values with international standards to address complex, transnational challenges.³¹

B. Contributions to International Treaties and Customary Law

The involvement of Southeast Asian countries in international treaty formulation, particularly through ASEAN, highlights a complex relationship between local norms and global human rights standards. Initiatives such as the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the 2012 ASEAN Human Rights Declaration illustrate the region's commitment to integrating human rights within regional frameworks. However, these instruments have been widely criticized for their limited mandate, lack of enforcement

²⁹ Spandler et al., "Sovereignty Scripts and Regional Governance: ASEAN's Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic."

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ Belinda Townsend, "Defending Access to Medicines in Regional Trade Agreements: Lessons from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership – a Qualitative Study of Policy Actors' Views," *Globalization and Health* 17, no. 1 (December 8, 2021): 78, https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-021-00721-4.

mechanisms, and excessive deference to state sovereignty.³² The diversity of national stances on human rights — evident in issues such as the persecution of the Rohingya, restrictions on free speech, and the continued application of capital punishment — further impedes the formation of a cohesive regional human rights identity.³³ While ASEAN's humanitarian response to Cyclone Nargis, balancing non-intervention with effective aid delivery, demonstrates its evolving stance toward regional cooperation, the institutional constraints of AICHR and the political reluctance to challenge member states' domestic affairs suggest that the transition from "non-intervention" to a meaningful doctrine of "non-indifference" remains incomplete.³⁴ These limitations reflect the broader challenge ASEAN faces in reconciling its foundational principles with the normative demands of international human rights law.

Despite not universally ratifying the 1951 Refugee Convention, Southeast Asian countries actively contribute to the development of international customary law on refugee protection through regional collaboration and migration diplomacy. Historical precedents like the Indochinese refugee movement underscore the importance of regional cooperation and the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in facilitating refugee resettlement and protection efforts.³⁵ Through informal mechanisms and bilateral cooperation, Southeast Asian states have demonstrated

³² Sanae Suzuki, "Interfering via ASEAN? In the Case of Disaster Management," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 3 (December 28, 2021): 400–417, https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211016865.

³³ M. Mahruf C. Shohel, "Lives of the Rohingya Children in Limbo: Childhood, Education, and Children's Rights in Refugee Camps in Bangladesh," *PROSPECTS* 53, no. 1–2 (May 3, 2023): 131–49, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-022-09631-8.

³⁴ Amador, "Community Building at the Time of Nargis: The ASEAN Response."

³⁵ Michael Casasola, "The Indochinese Refugee Movement and the Subsequent Evolution of UNHCR and Canadian Resettlement Selection Policies and Practices," *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 32, no. 2 (September 2, 2016): 41–53, https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40270.

forms of responsibility-sharing that, while outside formal treaty obligations, influence international practice.³⁶ This pragmatic and adaptive approach reflects a broader effort by Southeast Asia to establish regionally appropriate responses within international legal frameworks, thereby shaping the evolving norms of refugee protection in customary international law.³⁷

Southeast Asia's engagement with the TRIPS Agreement and intellectual property (IP) law illustrates the region's balancing act between international standards and public health priorities. While the TRIPS Agreement has led countries like Indonesia to adopt stronger IP protections, potentially impacting medicine accessibility, it also includes flexibilities, such as compulsory licensing, that allow states to meet urgent health needs.³⁸ This dynamic is evident in efforts to ensure affordable access to medicines for diseases like HIV/AIDS and COVID-19, supported by World Health Organization (WHO) initiatives to promote TRIPS flexibilities.³⁹ Such commitments by Southeast Asian nations to harmonize global IP standards with local health concerns highlight the need for policies that prioritize equitable healthcare access while aligning with international IP laws, a model that could inform broader global health policy.⁴⁰

-

³⁶ Gabriel Joel P. Honrada and Svetlana A. Bokeriya, "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism," *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 30, 2023): 253–64, https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2023-23-2-253-264.

³⁷ Arnulf Becker Lorca, "Contesting Global Justice from the South: Redistribution in the International Order," *International Affairs* 99, no. 1 (January 9, 2023): 41–60, https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiac315; Honrada and Bokeriya, "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism," June 30, 2023.

³⁸ Brigitte Tenni et al., "Lessons from India and Thailand for Cambodia's Future Implementation of the TRIPS Agreement for Pharmaceutical Patents," *The Journal of World Intellectual Property* 26, no. 2 (July 7, 2023): 166–94, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jwip.12267

³⁹ Marion Motari et al., "The Role of Intellectual Property Rights on Access to Medicines in the WHO African Region: 25 Years after the TRIPS Agreement," *BMC Public Health* 21, no. 1 (December 11, 2021): 490, https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/33706726/

⁴⁰ Deborah Gleeson et al., "Analyzing the Impact of Trade and Investment Agreements on Pharmaceutical Policy: Provisions, Pathways and Potential Impacts," *Globalization and Health*

C. Role in International Forums

Southeast Asian countries, primarily through ASEAN, have actively engaged in international cooperation to address transnational issues, highlighting their commitment to aligning with global norms. This is evident in ASEAN's creation of regional legal instruments, such as the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism and the ASEAN Declaration on Human Rights, aimed at addressing both security and human rights concerns. 41 Despite these initiatives, ASEAN's principle of non-interference often limits its effectiveness in handling regional challenges like environmental and economic cooperation.⁴² For instance, the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution, while representing a regional legal commitment, lacks binding enforcement mechanisms and has struggled to curb recurring transboundary pollution due to weak monitoring and the absence of sanctions.⁴³ Similarly, the implementation of trade-related public health protections under frameworks like the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) has been inconsistent, with lobbying and domestic constraints weakening regional alignment.44

^{15,} no. S1 (November 28, 2019): 78, https://globalizationandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12992-019-0518-2

⁴¹ Aggarwal and Chow, "The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation."

⁴² Fikri Muhammad, "Environmental Agreement under the Non-Interference Principle: The Case of ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 22, no. 1 (March 11, 2022): 139–55, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-021-09545-4.

⁴³ Fikri Muhammad, "Environmental Agreement under the Non-Interference Principle: The Case of ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 22, no. 1 (March 11, 2022): 139–55, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-021-09545-4.

⁴⁴ Ibid.; Spandler et al., "Sovereignty Scripts and Regional Governance: ASEAN's Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic"; Ana B. Amaya and Philippe De Lombaerde, "Regional Cooperation Is Essential to Combatting Health Emergencies in the Global South," *Globalization and Health* 17, no. 1 (December 9, 2021): 9, https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-021-00659-7.

These examples illustrate how ASEAN's adherence to noninterference can undermine the enforceability and practical impact of its legal instruments, raising broader concerns about the region's capacity to deliver effective governance through international legal cooperation.

the maritime domain. Southeast Asian countries have demonstrated a commitment to upholding international law through cases like the Philippines' arbitration victory over China concerning the South China Sea. This legal success at the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) emphasized Southeast Asia's reliance on international legal frameworks to manage complex maritime disputes and protect national interests.⁴⁵ While the ruling affirmed legal principles under UNCLOS and clarified maritime entitlements, its impact on regional cooperation has been limited.⁴⁶ Although the decision set a legal precedent, no other ASEAN member state has formally invoked the ruling in their disputes with China, and multilateral coordination remains constrained by geopolitical tensions and strategic ambiguity.47 Additionally, environmental issues such as sea-level rise and resource degradation complicate legal stability in the region and require Southeast Asian states to develop adaptive maritime policies that reconcile national sovereignty with international obligations.⁴⁸

_

⁴⁵ Sam Bateman, "Building Cooperation for Managing the South China Sea Without Strategic Trust," Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies 4, no. 2 (May 2017): 251–59, https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.178.

⁴⁶ Vanessa Burns, "Analysis of Ocean Ontologies in Three Frameworks: A Study of Law of the Sea Discourse," *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 6, no. 2 (June 22, 2023): 1138–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486221110436.

⁴⁷ Lingqun Li, "Building Up a Sustainable Path to Maritime Security: An Analytical Framework and Its Policy Applications," *Sustainability* 15, no. 8 (April 17, 2023): 6757, https://doi.org/10.3390/su15086757.

⁴⁸ Frances Anggadi, "What States Say And Do About Legal Stability And Maritime Zones, And Why It Matters," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (October 12, 2022): 767–98, https://doi.org/10.1017/S002058932200032X.

ASEAN's response to transnational challenges like human trafficking further illustrates its role in shaping global norms through cooperation in law enforcement and victim protection frameworks. Human trafficking, exacerbated by restrictive immigration policies and regional conflicts, remains a critical issue requiring coordinated, trauma-informed care and protection measures.⁴⁹ Additionally, ASEAN's efforts to document human rights violations and address the needs of vulnerable groups, like the Rohingya, underscore the importance of reliable data collection and victim-centered approaches for accountability and mental health support.⁵⁰ Together, these initiatives reflect Southeast Asia's commitment to addressing transnational crimes, shaping international norms, and adapting global standards to regional needs through active participation and regional frameworks.

IV. IMPLICATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN PRACTICES FOR COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW

A. Integration of International Law in National Legal Systems

The integration of international law into Southeast Asian countries' national legal systems varies, reflecting unique legal frameworks and policy considerations across the region. Most countries adopt a

⁴⁹ E. Ronda-Pérez and D. La Parra, "Eradicating Human Trafficking: A Social and Public Health Policy Priority," *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences* 25, no. 4 (August 18, 2016): 347–48, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/epidemiology-and-psychiatric-sciences/article/eradicating-human-trafficking-a-social-and-public-health-policy-priority/1E9A8DB1C64A340EDD053E0932F80ABE

Jennifer Leigh et al., "Seeking Justice amidst Chaos: Methods to Identify and Document Individuals Implicated in Crimes against the Rohingya in August 2017," Conflict and Health 16, no. 1 (December 2, 2022): 9, https://conflictandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s13031-022-00438-0; Andrew Riley et al., "Systematic Human Rights Violations, Traumatic Events, Daily Stressors and Mental Health of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh," Conflict and Health 14, no. 1 (December 20, 2020): 60, https://conflictandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s13031-020-00306-9.

dualist approach, requiring international treaties to be ratified through national legislation before taking effect, as exemplified by Indonesia's ratification process for international agreements.⁵¹ Some nations, however, follow a monist approach, where international apply within domestic legal systems, automatically particularly in human rights contexts.⁵² Regional cooperation within ASEAN also supports legal harmonization, with initiatives like the Economic **ASEAN** Community (AEC) the and ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) aiming to align member states' laws with international standards.53

Key challenges to implementing international law in Southeast Asia include legislative barriers, legal interpretation issues, and administrative enforcement limitations. Legislative hurdles, such as the need for domestic adoption of international treaties, often delay effective implementation, as seen in Indonesia's challenges with sexual violence laws.⁵⁴ Legal interpretation inconsistencies also affect compliance, especially in complex fields like environmental law, where multifaceted approaches are needed to address varied violations.⁵⁵ Administrative enforcement further faces resource and

_

⁵¹ Suci M Irfan, "Hukum Internasional Sebagai Sumber Hukum Di Tingkat Nasional: Suatu Tinjauan Mengenai Hubungan Antara Hukum Internasional Dan Hukum Nasional Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pustaka Nusantara Multidisplin* 1, no. 3 (2023), doi:10.59945/jpnm.v1i3.37; Mustakim Mustakim and Herman Dirgantara, "Kedudukan Hukum Internasional Dalam Pembukaan Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945," *Jurnal Mercatoria* 15, no. 1 (2022): 43–51, https://ojs.uma.ac.id/index.php/mercatoria/article/view/6985

⁵² Muhammad R Darajati, "Ketaatan Negara Terhadap Hukum Perdagangan Internasional," *Refleksi Hukum Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 5, no. 1 (2020): 21–42, https://ejournal.uksw.edu/refleksihukum/article/view/3455

Franche Franch

⁵⁴ Eko Nurisman, "Risalah Tantangan Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual Pasca Lahirnya Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (2022): 170–96, https://ejournal2.undip.ac.id/index.php/jphi/article/view/13859

⁵⁵ Hotnando M Simalango, Tajudin Tajudin, and Imamulhadi Imamulhadi, "Reorientasi Pengaturan Pendekatan Multidoor System Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Lingkungan

capacity limitations, highlighting the need for strengthened interagency collaboration, as in the case of regulating illegal goods production and trade.⁵⁶ These challenges point to the importance of a comprehensive strategy that builds public legal awareness, strengthens institutional capacities, and harmonizes national and international laws to ensure effective compliance with international standards.

B. Challenges and Opportunities in Compliance

Southeast Asian countries demonstrate significant variation in their levels of compliance and enforcement of international law, influenced by factors such as national legal frameworks, institutional capacity, and public awareness.⁵⁷ Some countries, like Indonesia and Malaysia, show a strong commitment to ratifying and implementing international agreements related to human rights and environmental protection, although enforcement is hindered by issues like corruption and resource limitations.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, countries like Myanmar and Cambodia face additional challenges due to unstable political conditions, which impede the enforcement of international norms. ASEAN has attempted to improve regional law enforcement cooperation through initiatives like the Our Eyes Initiative to counter

Hidup Pada Sistem Peradilan Pidana Indonesia," *Jurnal Belo* 6, no. 2 (2021): 232–55, https://discovery.researcher.life/download/article/0874a5796c55336d8ea00f3952ca054b/full-text

Farida Azzahra, "Pemberlakuan Sanksi Administratif: Bentuk Upaya Paksa Meningkatkan Kepatuhan Pejabat Atas Pelaksanaan Putusan Peradilan Tata Usaha Negara (Teori Efektivitas Hukum)," Binamulia Hukum 9, no. 2 (2023): 127–40, https://ejournal.hukumunkris.id/index.php/binamulia/article/view/368

⁵⁷ Mochtar Kusumaatmadja and Etty R. Agoes, *Pengantar Hukum Internasional* (Bandung: PT. Alumni, 2003).

⁵⁸ Oktriani Diani et al., "Kewenangan ICC Mengadili Kejahatan Internasional Yang Dilakukan Oleh Pemimpin Negara," *Jurnal Indonesia Sosial Teknologi* 3, no. 02 (2022): 326–32, doi:10.36418/jist.v3i2.374.

terrorism and human trafficking; however, differences in institutional capacity across member states, with smaller countries like Laos facing resource and training limitations, affect the effectiveness of such initiatives.

Case studies further illustrate the successes and ongoing challenges in implementing international law in Southeast Asia. ASEAN's efforts to combat human trafficking, particularly through the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, have yielded positive results in strengthening regional cooperation, though challenges persist at the national level in countries like Indonesia, where enforcement and public awareness remain issues.⁵⁹ Conversely, the human rights situation in Myanmar, especially following the 2021 military coup, exemplifies the obstacles in enforcing international norms when national political dynamics conflict with international expectations.60 Environmental law in Indonesia, especially in plastic waste management, also reflects this struggle, where robust legal frameworks exist but face barriers due to insufficient institutional coordination and public awareness.61 These examples highlight that while progress is being made, enhanced regional cooperation, strengthened institutional capacities, and improved public awareness crucial for advancing the effective implementation of international law across the region.

⁵⁹ Diah Apriliani, "Keamanan Manusia Dalam Perspektif Studi Keamanan Kritis (Critical Security Studies) Studi Kasus 'Peranan Asean's Political Security Community (Apsc) Dalam Pemberantasan Human Trafficking,'" *Global Mind* 5, no. 1 (2023): 13–25, https://journal2.unfari.ac.id/index.php/globalmind/article/view/1065

⁶⁰ Diani et al., "Kewenangan ICC Mengadili Kejahatan Internasional Yang Dilakukan Oleh Pemimpin Negara."

⁶¹ Farida Azzahra, "Pemberlakuan Sanksi Administratif: Bentuk Upaya Paksa Meningkatkan Kepatuhan Pejabat Atas Pelaksanaan Putusan Peradilan Tata Usaha Negara (Teori Efektivitas Hukum)," Binamulia Hukum 9, no. 2 (2023): 127–40, https://ejournal.hukumunkris.id/index.php/binamulia/article/view/368

C. Role of Regional Institutions in Promoting Compliance

Regional cooperation in Southeast Asia, especially through ASEAN, plays a crucial role in encouraging compliance with international legal obligations. Through various initiatives, such as the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (ACTIP), ASEAN has taken significant steps to address transnational issues, including human trafficking and protection of migrant workers' rights. Research by Khairi⁶² and Lui⁶³ illustrates ASEAN's commitment to safeguarding these vulnerable populations, ongoing despite challenges in national coordination enforcement. However, ASEAN's adherence to the principle of nonintervention poses challenges, as member states often hesitate to address human rights violations, such as those concerning the Rohingya in Myanmar.64

Furthermore, ASEAN's cooperation in counter-terrorism and drug enforcement reflects its efforts to create a stable and secure regional environment conducive to international law compliance. Research by Pradnyana⁶⁵ and Hazziah⁶⁶ highlights ASEAN's approach in aligning

Naufal F Khairi, "Upaya ASEAN Dalam Menangani Masalah Perdagangan Manusia Di Asia Tenggara," Anterior Jurnal 20, no. 2 (2021): 84–93, https://www.neliti.com/id/publications/365814/upaya-asean-dalam-menangani-masalah-perdagangan-manusia-di-asia-tenggara

⁶³ Carrissa A Lui, "Peranan Hukum Internasional Terhadap Perlindungan Buruh Kerja Migran," Journal of Accounting Law Communication and Technology 1, no. 2 (2024): 778–84, https://rayyanjurnal.com/index.php/JALAKOTEK/article/view/3135

⁶⁴ Budi H Bangun, "Tantangan ASEAN Dalam Melakukan Penanganan Pengungsi Rohingya," Padjadjaran Jurnal Ilmu Hukum (Journal of Law) 4, no. 3 (2018): 569–87, https://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/pjih/article/view/14929

⁶⁵ Hadi Pradnyana, "Perspektif Kebijakan Kontra-Terorisme ASEAN Dan Perbedaan Paradigma Penanggulangan Terorisme Oleh Negara-Negara Anggota ASEAN," Politicos Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan 2, no. 1 (2022): 11–26, https://ejournal.warmadewa.ac.id/index.php/politicos/article/view/4386

⁶⁶ Saofi Hazziah, "Peran Badan Narkotika Nasional (BNN) Dengan ASEAN Senior Officials on Drugs Matters ASOD Dalam Menangani Kejahatan Narkoba Di Indonesia Tahun 2018-2021," Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse 4, no. 2 (2022): 73–95,

member states' law enforcement capacities to tackle security threats, although disparities in resources and infrastructure among countries pose significant hurdles. Efforts to build institutional capacity through training programs and sharing best practices, as noted by Diani et al.,⁶⁷ demonstrate the potential of regional cooperation to strengthen adherence to international law. Nonetheless, political and structural challenges, particularly the principle of non-intervention, continue to restrict ASEAN's ability to enforce compliance, underscoring the need for further reforms to enhance ASEAN's efficacy in supporting international legal obligations.

V. ASEAN'S COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LEGAL STANDARDS: BETWEEN RHETORIC AND REALITY

A. Diplomatic Engagement and Global Alliances

The diplomatic strategies of Southeast Asian countries, particularly through ASEAN, play a crucial role in shaping international legal norms and practices. By adopting a multilateral approach through platforms like the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and ASEAN Plus Three, these nations aim to build consensus and cooperation on critical issues, including human rights, security, and environmental protection. For example, ASEAN's framework for disaster resilience enhances regional capacity for emergency response, supporting compliance with international law on humanitarian aid and environmental protection, as highlighted by research from Itasari and

https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Peran-Badan-Narkotika-Nasional-(BNN)-Dengan-ASEAN-Hazziah-Wahyudin/88129addb8c79741db60146b06692c7064ba4a5f

⁶⁷ Diani et al., "Kewenangan ICC Mengadili Kejahatan Internasional Yang Dilakukan Oleh Pemimpin Negara."

Mangku.⁶⁸ Additionally, in the South China Sea dispute, ASEAN's collective approach strengthens its negotiating position against major powers, such as China, by unifying member states' voices, despite internal challenges in achieving consensus.⁶⁹

While ASEAN's multilateral diplomatic efforts foster regional collaboration, the effectiveness of these strategies faces significant challenges. Differences in member states' interests, especially regarding human rights, complicate collective compliance with international noted by Darwis,70 norms. As ASEAN's Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights struggles with implementation and monitoring due to varying national approaches. Furthermore, the influence of major powers, like China's vaccine diplomacy, can impact regional dynamics, complicating ASEAN's diplomatic strategies, as Khoirunnisa⁷¹ explains. Despite these obstacles, ASEAN's commitment to diplomatic networks on transnational issues, such as the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons (ACTIP), highlights the potential of regional

_

⁶⁸ Endah R Itasari and Dewa G S Mangku, "Implementation of the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution in the Southeast Asia Region," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan* 6, no. 1 (2021): 149, https://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jppk/article/view/20741

⁶⁹ Bama A Putra, "China's Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Have ASEAN's Endeavors in Establishing Regional Order Truly Failed?," *Journal of Politics and Law* 8, no. 4 (2015): 178, https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/id/JSParchives/asean-and-the-contemporary-geopolitics-of-the-indo-pacific-region%3A-agenda-for-future-research

Darwis Darwis, "Constructing an Inadequate Human Rights Regime: Indonesia and the Deliberate Weakening of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights Authority," Journal of Social and Political Sciences 3, no. 4 (2020), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344545483_Constructing_an_Inadequate_Human_Rights_Regime_Indonesia_and_the_Deliberate_Weakening_of_the_ASEAN_Intergovernment al_Commission_on_Human_Rights_Authority

Khoirunnisa Khoirunnisa, "Diplomasi Tiongkok Dalam Meraih Pengaruh Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara," Global Insight Journal 7, no. 2 (2022), https://journal.uta45jakarta.ac.id/index.php/GIJ/article/view/7230

collaboration to strengthen law enforcement and enhance Southeast Asia's influence in the global arena.⁷²

B. Role of ASEAN and Regional Organizations

ASEAN plays a pivotal role in promoting Southeast Asian countries' compliance with international law through regional cooperation and multilateral diplomacy. By establishing a legal framework that supports collaboration on human rights, security, and environmental issues, ASEAN enables its member states to align with international legal norms. Notable instruments include the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, which demonstrate a collective commitment to upholding international standards. Goldbarsht emphasizes ASEAN's efforts in law enforcement cooperation, particularly in anti-money laundering and counter-terrorism, which reflects its dedication to meeting global standards.⁷³

However, ASEAN faces challenges in enforcing these international norms due to the non-binding nature of many of its legal instruments, leading to varying levels of compliance among member states. Li and Rooij highlight the complexity and uncertainty that arise from these non-binding frameworks, underscoring the need for stronger

⁷² Apriliani, "Keamanan Manusia Dalam Perspektif Studi Keamanan Kritis (Critical Security Studies) Studi Kasus 'Peranan Asean's Political Security Community (Apsc) Dalam Pemberantasan Human Trafficking'"; Anthony Steven, "Peran Perhimpunan Bangsa-Bangsa Asia Tenggara Dalam Menanggulangi Eksploitasi Perempuan Dan Anak," *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 5, no. 6 (2024): 2261–71, https://jurnalsyntaxadmiration.com/index.php/jurnal/article/view/1217

⁷³ Doron Goldbarsht, "From Later to Sooner: Exploring Compliance With the Global Regime of Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorist Financing in the Legal Profession," *Journal of Financial Crime* 31, no. 4 (2023): 795–809, https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/jfc-08-2023-0201/full/html

monitoring and enforcement mechanisms. ⁷⁴ Additionally, ASEAN's principle of non-intervention often limits its ability to address human rights violations within member states, as noted by Widiastuti. ⁷⁵ Despite these obstacles, ASEAN's multilateral approach and commitment to cross-border cooperation, such as in combating transnational crimes like human trafficking, ⁷⁶ reveal the potential for enhanced compliance with international law and a stronger collective presence in the global arena.

C. Geopolitical Dynamics and Regional Stability

Geopolitical dynamics in Southeast Asia significantly impact the formulation and promotion of international legal norms, with ASEAN playing a crucial role in managing member relations and addressing global challenges. In response to maritime security issues in the South China Sea, ASEAN promotes norms that support peaceful dispute resolution based on principles of international law, such as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), as noted by Firdaus.⁷⁷ This reflects the role of geopolitical dynamics in encouraging collaborative efforts among Southeast Asian countries to establish legal norms that accommodate shared

Na Li and Benjamin v. Rooij, "Law Lost, Compliance Found: A Frontline Understanding of the Non-Linear Nature of Business and Employee Responses to Law," *Journal of Business Ethics* 178, no. 3 (2021): 715–34, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10551-021-04751-1

Arum Widiastuti, "Perspektif ASEAN Terhadap Prinsip Non-Intervensi," Jurnal Usm Law Review 5, no. 1 (2022): 377, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/363511886_Perspektif_ASEAN_Terhadap_Prinsip_Non-Intervensi

Apriliani, "Keamanan Manusia Dalam Perspektif Studi Keamanan Kritis (Critical Security Studies) Studi Kasus 'Peranan Asean's Political Security Community (Apsc) Dalam Pemberantasan Human Trafficking.'"

⁷⁷ Andistya Pratama, "The Ratification of Indonesia-Australia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement: Investment Challenges and Opportunities," *Audito Comparative Law Journal* (*Aclj*) 5, no. 1 (2024): 18–32, https://ejournal.umm.ac.id/index.php/audito/article/view/29644.

regional interests, as also written by Juwana about local, regional politics and international law.⁷⁸ Additionally, ASEAN serves as a platform for Southeast Asian countries to balance their positions between major powers like China and the United States, strengthening their bargaining power in international negotiations.⁷⁹

However, implementing international legal norms in the region faces significant challenges due to differing interests and priorities among ASEAN member states. Research by Nurvianti indicates that these differences can hinder collective efforts to promote international legal norms effectively.⁸⁰ Furthermore, while ASEAN's multilateral cooperation mechanisms, such as those tackling transnational crimes, enhance regional stability and compliance with international law,⁸¹ the influence of external powers like China and the U.S. often complicates regional stability and legal contributions. As Nurul et.al., suggests, Southeast Asian countries must navigate these geopolitical pressures to preserve their national interests, highlighting the need

⁷⁸ Hikmahanto Juwana, "Hukum Internasional Sebagai Instrumen Politik: Beberapa Pengalaman Indonesia Sebagai Studi Kasus," *Arena Hukum* 5, no. 2 (August 1, 2012): 106–14, https://scholar.ui.ac.id/en/publications/hukum-internasional-sebagai-instrumen-politik-beberapa-pengalaman

⁷⁹ Shaina D Western, "Bargaining Power at the Negotiation Table and Beyond," *International Negotiation* 25, no. 2 (2020): 169–200, https://brill.com/view/journals/iner/25/2/article-p169_1.xml

Erwin Dwiyanto, "Penegakan Hukum Pidana Terhadap Pelanggaran Pesawat Sipil Asing Diwilayah Udara Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia," Jurnal Multidisiplin Indonesia 2, no. 9 (2023): 3003–12, https://jmi.rivierapublishing.id/index.php/rp/article/view/576

Studies) Studi Kasus 'Peranan Asean's Political Security Community (Apsc) Dalam Pemberantasan Human Trafficking,'" Global Mind 5, no. 1 (2023): 13–25, https://journal2.unfari.ac.id/index.php/globalmind/article/view/1065; Retno Febryastuti, "Pengaruh Keterbukaan Perdagangan Internasional Dan Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Terhadap Pengangguran Di ASEAN-5, 1996-2017," Journal of Economics Development Issues 2, no. 01 (2019): 19–25.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331678704_Pengaruh_Keterbukaan_Perdagangan_I nternasional_dan_Pertumbuhan_Ekonomi_Terhadap_Pengangguran_di_ASEAN-5_1996-2017

for ASEAN to overcome obstacles in achieving more effective compliance with international law.⁸²

VI. CONCLUSION

The influence of Southeast Asian state practices on public international law highlights the region's unique contributions to global legal standards. Through diverse legal traditions, pragmatic compliance approaches, and strategic diplomacy, Southeast Asian countries have become active participants in the international legal system. While challenges persist in the areas of compliance and enforcement, regional cooperation and ASEAN's role as a unifying body provide avenues for enhancing the region's impact on international law.

This research underscores the importance of recognizing Southeast Asia's role in shaping public international law, suggesting that further study and engagement with Southeast Asian perspectives can lead to more inclusive and representative global legal norms. Southeast Asia's influence not only enriches international law but also reflects the dynamic and evolving nature of a truly global legal order.

COMPETING INTEREST

None

https://jurnal.idu.ac.id/index.php/DefenseJournal/article/view/1905

⁸² Nurul Titi Marie, Prawita Meidy Handayani, and Samti Wira Wibawati, "Quo Vadis ASEAN Security Amidst the United States-China Rivalry in the Southeast Asia Region," Jurnal Pertahanan: Media Informasi Ttg Kajian & Strategi Pertahanan Yang Mengedepankan Identity, Nasionalism & Integrity 9, no. 1 (April 30, 2023): 178,

REFERENCES

- Aggarwal, Vinod K., and Jonathan T. Chow. "The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation." *Review of International Political Economy* 17, no. 2 (June 3, 2010): 262–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290903192962.
- Amador, Julio Santiag. "Community Building at the Time of Nargis: The ASEAN Response." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 28, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810340902800401.
- Amaya, Ana B., and Philippe De Lombaerde. "Regional Cooperation Is Essential to Combatting Health Emergencies in the Global South." *Globalization and Health* 17, no. 1 (December 9, 2021): 9. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-021-00659-7.
- Anggadi, Frances. "What States Say And Do About Legal Stability And Maritime Zones, And Why It Matters." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (October 12, 2022): 767–98. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002058932200032X.
- Astuti, Putu Ayu Swandewi. "Policy Incoherence and Unwillingness of the Indonesian Government to Curb Its Alarming Tobacco Epidemic." *Tobacco Control* 32, no. 4 (July 20, 2023): 405–6. https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2023-058114.
- Baltag, Crina, Riddhi Joshi, and Kabir Duggal. "Recent Trends in Investment Arbitration on the Right to Regulate, Environment, Health and Corporate Social Responsibility: Too Much or Too Little?" *ICSID Review Foreign Investment Law Journal* 38, no. 2 (September 23, 2023): 381–421. https://doi.org/10.1093/icsidreview/siac031.
- Barmania, Sima, and Syed Mohamed Aljunid. "Navigating HIV Prevention Policy and Islam in Malaysia: Contention, Compatibility or Reconciliation? Findings from in-Depth Interviews among Key Stakeholders." *BMC Public Health* 16, no. 1 (December 7, 2016): 524. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3247-y.
- Bateman, Sam. "Building Cooperation for Managing the South China Sea Without Strategic Trust." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 4, no. 2 (May 2017): 251–59. https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.178.
- Burns, Vanessa. "Analysis of Ocean Ontologies in Three Frameworks: A Study of Law of the Sea Discourse." *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 6, no. 2 (June 22, 2023): 1138–63. https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486221110436.
- Casasola, Michael. "The Indochinese Refugee Movement and the Subsequent Evolution of UNHCR and Canadian Resettlement Selection Policies and Practices." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 32, no. 2 (September 2, 2016): 41–53. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40270.
- Gillespie, John. "Theorizing Continuity and Change in Socialist Regulation." *Law & Policy* 45, no. 2 (April 3, 2023): 211–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12212.

- Honrada, Gabriel Joel P., and Svetlana A. Bokeriya. "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism." *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 30, 2023): 253–64. https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2023-23-2-253-264.
- ——. "The Shanghai Spirit and the ASEAN Way as the Foundations of a New Regionalism." *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 30, 2023): 253–64. https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2023-23-2-253-264.
- Kanna, Maryam. "Furthering Decolonization: Judicial Review Of Colonial Criminal Laws." *Duke Law Journal* 70, no. 2 (2020).
- Kling, Zainal. "The Malay Family: Beliefs and Realities." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 1995): 43–66. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.26.1.43.
- Kusters, Koen, Hubert de Foresta, Andree Ekadinata, and Meine van Noordwijk. "Towards Solutions for State vs. Local Community Conflicts Over Forestland: The Impact of Formal Recognition of User Rights in Krui, Sumatra, Indonesia." *Human Ecology* 35, no. 4 (August 14, 2007): 427–38. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-006-9103-4.
- Latipulhayat, Atip. "New Face of International Law From Western to Global Construct." *PADJADJARAN Jurnal Ilmu Hukum (Journal of Law)* 07, no. 01 (April 2020): 43–63. https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v7n1.a3.
- Lencucha, Raphael, Nuntavarn Vichit-Vadakan, Roengrudee Patanavanich, and Rob Ralston. "Addressing Tobacco Industry Influence in Tobacco-Growing Countries." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 102, no. 1 (January 1, 2024): 58–64. https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.23.290219.
- Li, Lingqun. "Building Up a Sustainable Path to Maritime Security: An Analytical Framework and Its Policy Applications." *Sustainability* 15, no. 8 (April 17, 2023): 6757. https://doi.org/10.3390/su15086757.
- Lorca, Arnulf Becker. "Contesting Global Justice from the South: Redistribution in the International Order." *International Affairs* 99, no. 1 (January 9, 2023): 41–60. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiac315.
- Mohd Nor, Mohd Roslan, Issa Khan, and Mohammad Elius. "Analysing the Conceptual Framework of Religious Freedom and Interreligious Relationship in Islam." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (December 2, 2018): 309. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.309-334.
- Muhammad, Fikri. "Environmental Agreement under the Non-Interference Principle: The Case of ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 22, no. 1 (March 11, 2022): 139–55. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-021-09545-4.
- Nik Mat, Nik Hazimah, Zaharul Nizal Zabidi, Nor Fatimah Che Sulaiman, Roswati Abdul Rashid, and Masutani Satoshi. "Religiosity and Gender Role

- Perceptions: Insights from Malaysia." *Contemporary Islam* 17, no. 1 (April 8, 2023): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-022-00502-9.
- Puspita, Nindya Tria, Rommy Qurniati, and Indra Gumay Febryano. "Social Capital of Community Forest Management in Batutegi Forest Management Unit." *Jurnal Sylva Lestari* 8, no. 1 (January 27, 2020): 54. https://doi.org/10.23960/jsl1854-64.
- Rahmita, Frida. "Capital Punishment For Drugs Trafficking In Southeast Asia: A Violation Of Human Rights Law?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 22, no. 1 (December 30, 2017): 158–69. https://doi.org/10.22452/jati.vol22no1.11.
- Shohel, M. Mahruf C. "Lives of the Rohingya Children in Limbo: Childhood, Education, and Children's Rights in Refugee Camps in Bangladesh." *PROSPECTS* 53, no. 1–2 (May 3, 2023): 131–49. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-022-09631-8.
- Shuaib, Farid Sufian. "Administration of Islamic Law and Human Rights: The Basis and Its Trajectory in Malaysia." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, no. 2 (May 16, 2019): 281–304. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.562.281-304.
- Spandler, Kilian, Julia Hartelius, Alva Monti, and Fredrik Söderbaum. "Sovereignty Scripts and Regional Governance: ASEAN's Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic." *The Pacific Review* 37, no. 3 (May 3, 2024): 604–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2023.2205164.
- Steenbergen, Dirk J. "Strategic Customary Village Leadership in the Context of Marine Conservation and Development in Southeast Maluku, Indonesia." *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (June 6, 2016): 311–27. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9829-6.
- Suzuki, Sanae. "Interfering via ASEAN? In the Case of Disaster Management." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 3 (December 28, 2021): 400–417. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211016865.
- Townsend, Belinda. "Defending Access to Medicines in Regional Trade Agreements: Lessons from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership a Qualitative Study of Policy Actors' Views." *Globalization and Health* 17, no. 1 (December 8, 2021): 78. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-021-00721-4.
- Zhang, Chutao. "A Cynical Theory and Wicked Men: The Origins of Classical Realism's Pessimism and Cynicism," 2023, 448–54. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-97-8_56.

HISTORY OF ARTICLE

Submitted: March 16, 2025

Revised: June 18, 2025

Accepted: June 18, 2025

Published: July 7, 2025